1764

A

DISSECTION

OF THE

NORTH BRITON,

NUMBER XLV.

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH.

INSCRIBED TO

The Right Honourable Earl TEMPLE.

Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo, VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for G. BURNET, at Bishop Burnet's Head in the Strand.

MDCCLXIV.

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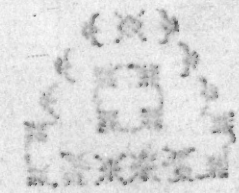

The Right Hon[illegible] TEMPLE.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

EARL TEMPLE.

My LORD,

BY inſcribing this Diſſection to you, I apprehend I pay no ſmall compliment either to your Lordſhip or tothe piece. If I had not the greateſt opinion of Earl Temple's heart, (however it may have been miſled by falſe appearances) and if I did not ſtrongly rely on the conviction of my arguments, he would have been the laſt man in the world I ſhould have thought of addreſſing on the preſent ſubject.

My Lord, if I have taken ſome pains to anatomiſe the North Briton, No. 45. it is becauſe I thought it a duty due to my country. My thoughts were written on this head ſome time ago, but I deferred the publication, becauſe I would not be accuſed of an attempt to ſpur and irritate juſtice, beyond the bounds to which the lenity of government might be willing to circumſcribe it. I publiſh them now, becauſe I am deſirous to ſhew the great mercy of the ſtate, which the writer has ſo heinouſly offended, as well as to convince my countrymen in general, how highly he

is

is deſerving of a much ſeverer puniſhment than it is likely he would have experienced, even if he had been preſumptuous enough to have awaited the conſequences.

I conclude, my Lord, with moſt fervently wiſhing, that thoſe inteſtine differences may ſpeedily ſubſide, which greatly leſſen our dignity in the eyes of foreign powers, and deprive us of all the advantages which would neceſſarily reſult from a combination of hearts and hands in the ſervice of our country; and finally, I moſt heartily pray, that the people may become truly ſenſible of the wiſdom of thoſe meaſures which his majeſty hath moſt patriotically adopted, with the great view of burying in oblivion the ſeeds of our deſtructive diſſentions, together with thoſe odious appellations of Whig and Tory, which, ever ſince the days of Charles the ſecond, have ſerved the purpoſe of POLITICAL TORCHES, to kindle in this nation the fire of civil diſcord.

I am, My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt humble, obedient ſervant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

THE DISSECTION OF THE NORTH BRITON,

NUMBER XLV.

AS the North Briton, No. 45, has made a great noiſe in the nation, and is undoubtedly a moſt intereſting affair, I hope a true and impartial diſcuſſion of that piece will not be diſpleaſing to the public; as thereby the miſchievous effects which that ſeditious performance may have produced, will, it is to be hoped, be in a great meaſure, if not totally, removed.

This paper was publiſhed on the 23d of April, 1763, and begins with diſcourſing on the nature of ſpeeches from the throne, which, that author ſays, are *always* to be conſidered as the ſpeeches of the miniſter; and, upon this hypotheſis, he uſes, with

it, thoſe freedoms, which drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the ſtate, and gave riſe to thoſe proſecutions againſt the author which have ſtrongly attracted the public attention.

The whole world, indeed, knows, that *in* parliament it is uſual to conſider the King's ſpeech in that light; but how far it is lawful for any of the ſubjects *out* of parliament, to analyſe it as ſuch, and eſpecially in the manner our author has done, muſt be judged by my readers, after they have deliberately conſidered the ſcope of every paragraph of this production, as they ſhall be ſet forth hereafter. Much might be ſaid here, by way of preface, to ſhew that it would be highly improper to allow thoſe liberties to be aſſumed *every where*, which the members of parliament, *in the houſe*, are entitled to, for the ſake of expediting the public ſervice with a requiſite accuracy; and, perhaps, a good deal alſo, might be alledged, on the other ſide of the queſtion, in order to enforce the neceſſity of allowing, *in a free nation*, the meaſures of the miniſtry to be canvaſſed in this manner. But without proceeding to that matter, if we ſtate fairly in what manner

ner the North Briton has treated this ſpeech, we ſhall from thence be able to judge of the merits of the caſe, without any formal diſcuſſion and determination of the forementioned moſt important queſtion.

Thus the author commences his diſcourſe, 'The King's ſpeech has always 'been conſidered by the legiſlature, and 'by the public at large, as the *ſpeech of* '*the miniſter*. It has regularly, at the be-'ginning of every ſeſſion of parliament, 'been referred, by both houſes, to the 'conſideration of the committee, and has 'been generally canvaſſed with the utmoſt 'freedom, when the miniſter of the crown 'has been obnoxious to the nation. The 'miniſters of this free country, conſcious 'of the undoubted privileges of ſo ſpirited 'a people, and with the terrors of parlia-'ment before their eyes, have ever been 'cautious, no leſs with regard to the mat-'ter, than to the expreſſions of ſpeeches, 'which they have adviſed the ſovereign to 'make from the throne, at the opening 'of each ſeſſion. They well knew, that an 'honeſt houſe of parliament, true to their 'truſt, could not fail to detect the fallaci-'ous Arts, or to remonſtrate againſt the

' daring Acts of violence committed by
' any miniſter. The ſpeech at the cloſe
' of the ſeſſion has ever been conſidered
' as the moſt ſecure method of promul-
' gating the favourite court creed among
' the vulgar, becauſe the parliament which
' is the conſtitutional guardian of the li-
' berties of the people, has in this caſe no
' opportunity of remonſtrating or impeach-
' ing any wicked ſervant of the crown.'

This remark, concerning the difference of ſpeeches, at the beginning or cloſe of a ſeſſion, is moſt certainly *very judicious*, but in this affair highly *impertinent*, in caſe it ſhould prove that the ſpeech, which the North Briton took upon him to conſider, was *not* calculated to propagate ſome ſtate creed, inconſiſtent with the proceedings of parliament; and of conſequence a preface of this nature has a manifeſt tendency to impreſs on that author's admirers in particular, and the public in general, a belief that the ſpeech in queſtion contained ſome propoſitions, which no miniſter dared to avow the adviſing of, and ſuch as ſome of the officers of the crown would have been in danger of being impeached for, if the parliament had been to ſit any longer; and,

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of conſequence, that thoſe articles of the ſpeech which the North Briton finds fault with, are to be regarded *in this light*; inſtead of being complied with, or reſpected, as the voice of the ſovereign. What theſe are, this daring writer quickly informs us. 'This week, ſays he, has 'given the public the moſt abandoned in-'ſtance of miniſterial effrontery. The 'miniſter's ſpeech of laſt Tueſday is not 'to be paralleled in the annals of this 'country. I am in doubt (continues he) 'whether the impoſition is greater on the 'ſovereign, or the nation.'

This I apprehend is nothing leſs than a *plain* declaration, that the ſovereign is the dupe of a deſigning miniſter, and ſo weak as not to underſtand what his miniſter thinks fit to make him ſpeak.

Here let us pauſe, and conſider if, even in the *parliamentary* debates, ſuch freedoms were *ever* taken with a prince on the throne. I will venture to aſſert, that *no* prince, ſuppoſed fit to reign, was *ever* treated in this manner, *in* or *out* of parliament. Hiſtory tells us, that our depoſed princes were, indeed, repreſented in this light, by the parliaments that depoſed them,

them, in order to juſtify their proceedings againſt them. But with reſpect to others, no *one* inſtance *can* be given, in the Debates, Journals, or Hiſtories, of our nation, that any prince adjudged fit to reign, or any king, who poſſeſſed but a moiety of his preſent Majeſty's virtues and talents, was ever ſo abuſed. I therefore ſubmit it to my readers, if this clauſe of the North Briton doth not contain a moſt *traitorous* concluſion againſt a prince, whoſe wiſdom and juſtice are eminently conſpicuous to all, but ſuch as are deluded by this author's diabolical faſcinations; for it muſt be obvious to them that the North Briton's effrontery is ſo great, that he has thought fit to equalize his ſovereign's character with, if not depreſs it below, thoſe of our princes that were excluded from the throne, on account of their weakneſs and incapacity: Nor is this confined to a mere attempt to excite conſpiracies againſt our ſovereign, on account of his here alledged incapacity; for from the late behaviour of the deluded and lawleſs mob at the Royal Exchange, all our readers muſt be conſcious of the undeſerved ſucceſs of this inflammatory writer's endeavours on this head;

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ſo that there is, *de facto*, a conſpiracy here declared, commenced, and in part executed, againſt the moſt gracious and patriotic prince that ever ſat on the Britiſh throne; and if the whole together does not amount to a moſt treaſonable overt attempt to dethrone the beſt of monarchs; neither words nor actions can henceforth be deemed to carry *any* meaning whatever.

The author having thus laid his ſeditious ground-work, proceeds to rear his traitorous ſuper-ſtructure. 'Every friend of 'his country (ſays he) muſt lament, that 'a prince of ſo many great and amiable 'qualities, whom England truly reveres, 'can be brought to give the ſanction of 'his ſacred name to the moſt odious meaſures, and to the moſt unjuſtifiable public declarations, from a throne *ever* renowned for truth, honour, and unſullied 'virtue.' Here the weakneſs of our ſovereign is manifeſtly ſet forth to be greater than that of any of his predeceſſors in the royal dignity; who are ſaid to have ſat on a throne, ever, *till now*, (for this muſt be the real meaning of the writer's words) renowned for honour, truth, and unſullied virtue. What is this too, but, in other words,

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moſt ſeditiouſly affirming, that the throne was never before diſgraced, by being made a conveyance of falſhood and lies. If this daring aſſertion (not more bold than falſe) was admitted, it would follow, that King James the ſecond did not contribute ſo much to the debaſing of the royal dignity, as our preſent illuſtrious ſovereign; and that James's firſt ſpeech from the throne, in which he *promiſes* (without ever fulfiling it) to maintain our liberties and religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, was full of truth, honour, and unſullied virtue, compared with this of George the third; the natural and conſequent intention, therefore, of the North Briton, muſt be of the moſt heinous and rebellious nature. 'I am ſure all fo-'reigners, eſpecially the king of Pruſſia '(ſays the North Briton) will hold the 'miniſter in contempt and abhorrence.' I ſo, in what light (were they to pay the leaſt deference to this inſolent writer) muſt they behold the King himſelf?

After all this treaſonable parade about the lamentable weakneſs of the prince, and the wickedneſs of the miniſter, the North Briton goes on to give us a ſpecimen of the falſhoods ſet forth in this ſpeech.

'He

'He (meaning the miniſter) has made our 'ſovereign declare, "*My expectations have* "*been fully anſwered, by the happy effects* "*which the ſeveral allies of my crown have* "*derived from this ſalutary meaſure of the* "*definitive treaty. The powers at war with* "*my good brother the King of Pruſſia, have been* "*induced to agree to ſuch terms of accommoda-* "*tion, as that great prince has approved; and the ſucceſs which has attended my negotia-* "*tion has neceſſarily and immediately diffuſed the* "*bleſſings of peace thro' every part of Europe.*" 'The infamous fallacy (the North Briton 'goes on remarking) of this whole ſen-'tence is apparent to all mankind; for it 'is known, that the king did not barely 'approve, but abſolutely dictated, as con-'queror, every article of the terms of 'peace. No advantage of any kind has 'accrued to that magnanimous prince from 'our negotiation, but he was baſely de-'ſerted by the Scottiſh prime miniſter.--- 'He was known by every court in Europe, 'to be ſcarcely on better terms of friendſhip 'HERE, than at VIENNA; and he was betrayed 'by us in the treaty of peace.' The ſen-ſible part of this nation are ſo well appriſ-ed of the truth of what his majeſty, in

his ſpeech, is here pleaſed to declare, that it is extremely lucky that the North Briton could charge no other part of this ſpeech with falſity.

The ſtipulations in favour of Germany, whereby his moſt chriſtian majeſty engaged to withdraw his troops out of the empire, and his ſubſidies from the court of Vienna, are ſo well known to be the *ſole* cauſe of the empreſs queen's yielding to the Pruſſian demands, that I am at a loſs here whether moſt to admire the audacity or malice of this author. He has the effrontery to alledge that his Pruſſian majeſty was betrayed or deſerted by us, although we protected his dominions *during* the whole *war*, and at the *end* of it, ſtipulated with our reconciled foe, that he ſhould withdraw from the enemy of Pruſſia thoſe aids which enabled her to carry on hoſtilities againſt him. It is, indeed, true, that we withdrew from his Pruſſian majeſty the ſtipulated ſubſidy in money; but not till we were convinced not only of the abſurdneſs of the meaſure, in reſpect to any advantage accruing to England from it, but that that great prince had no further occaſion for it, and was able, without aſſiſtance of that

ſort,

ſort, to cope with his enemies. Every underſtanding ſubject muſt be ſenſible of the wiſdom, and well-placed oeconomy, of the miniſtry, in this important particular. And here, by the bye, the inconſiſtency of the North Briton very ſtrongly appears. He rails at the miniſtry for withholding from our German ally the money pretended to by treaty, yet is always murmuring at taxes, which were made indiſpenſibly neceſſary by that very ſubſidy.

Now the North Briton goes on, by way of interrogatory, to charge his ſovereign, in name of his miniſter, with inſolence and want of veracity, for only telling his parliament a truth, of which all perſons, poſſeſſed of any degree of knowledge, are perfectly well ſatisfied. 'What a ſtrain 'of inſolence is it, therefore (ſays he) in 'a miniſter, to lay claim to what he is con-'ſcious all his efforts tended to prevent, 'and meanly to arrogate to himſelf a ſhare 'in the fame and glory of one of the great-'eſt princes the world has ever ſeen?' As all my readers may ſufficiently judge of the propriety of this queſtion from what has been already ſaid, I ſhall now proceed to conſider the North Briton as an hiſtorian.

'The King of Pruſſia (ſays he) has, how-
'ever, glorioufly kept all his former con-
'queſts, and ſtipulated ſecurity for all his
'allies, even for the Elector of Hanover.'
Here is ſo glaring a falſhood proclaimed by this incendiary, that it is amazing he can find any defenders: for, in fact, the *King of Pruſſia* has given up his Saxon conqueſts, and every inch of ground he made himſelf maſter of during the war. He is reduced to the territories which he had at the beginning of the war, and has renounced all the acquiſitions which were made in it. On the contrary, *We* have extended our empire, and enlarged our commerce: But I do not mean here to ſhew at large, that the peace which we have made is more glorious and beneficial to us, than the German pacification is to the King of Pruſſia. This has been ſo ably handled by other pens, and is now ſo perfectly known, that I touch upon it no farther than to prove the truth of the King's ſpeech, and the falſity of the North Briton; which being already fully done, I ſhall go on to obſerve another untruth of this *worthy* author's. 'The King
'of Pruſſia, (ſays he) has ſtipulated ſecu-
'rity for all his allies, even the Elector of
'Hano-

'Hanover.' This man muſt ſurely be ſenſible that he writes only to the meaneſt and moſt ignorant part of the nation, and can only gain credit with thoſe that rejoice to hear an evil report of their ſuperiors, elſe he would not publiſh ſuch manifeſt falſehoods. But as every perſon who has read the preliminaries and definitive treaty, muſt know that the Electoral dominions of our ſovereign, together with thoſe of Heſſe, and other German princes in alliance with us and the king of Pruſſia, were fully ſecured by thoſe treaties before that of Hubertſburgh took place; I ſhall diſmiſs this allegation with marking it *Lie the ſecond*, and go on to more of his aſtoniſhing and infamous aſſertions. 'I know (ſays he) in 'what light this great Prince is conſidered 'in Europe, and in what manner he has 'been treated here: Among other reaſons, 'perhaps, from ſome contemptuous ex'preſſions he may have uſed of the Scot; 'expreſſions which are every day ecchoed 'by the whole body of Engliſhmen 'through the ſouthern parts of this 'iſland.'

The Engliſhmen meant by the North Briton, who ſpeak diſreſpectfully of Lord Bute,

Bute, are far from being the *whole* body of the people. Many Engliſhmen of learning, politeneſs, and popularity, have a great regard for that nobleman; nor has he a leſs reſpect for them. All his acquaintances, neighbours, tenants, and ſervants, love and revere him. None hate or deſpiſe him but the North Briton and his wickedly miſled votaries, whoſe contemptuous expreſſions are moſtly reſolved in ſneers on his country; in which it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe the king of Pruſſia will join them, as his affection to the Scots in his ſervice is ſo well known, and the honours he did to marſhal Keith ſo recent in Europe. That monarch's love to the Scots is ſo notorious, and his eſteem for thoſe perſons in particular whom the North Briton daily vilifies ſo well known, that no credit can be due to this author in this matter; eſpecially ſince we have already convicted him of miſrepreſenting the truth in other material points. The whole world knows that it was at the king of Pruſſia's interceſſion that our late ſovereign, of moſt glorious memory, was pleaſed to pardon the earl Marechal; ſo that it is totally impoſſible to be true, that that monarch expreſſes his reſent-

reſentment at lord Bute in ſuch terms as are uſed by thoſe deluded abettors of the North Briton, whom *he* is pleaſed to call the whole body of Engliſhmen. The diſpleaſure of the king of Pruſſia at lord Bute is indeed as well known as its cauſe. He adviſed the withholding of the ſubſidy ſo ſoon as it appeared to be unneceſſary: a meaſure which every honeſt Engliſhman ought to honour and eſteem him for.

The North Briton goes on; 'The pre-'liminary articles of peace were ſuch, as have 'drawn the contempt of mankind upon our 'wretched negotiators. All our moſt valua-'ble conqueſts were agreed to be reſtored, 'and the Eaſt India Company would have 'been infallibly ruined by a ſingle article 'of this fallacious and baneful negotia-'tion.' It is moſt certain that the court of directors were conſulted in the preliminaries, as well as in the definitive treaty; and in what degree the Eaſt India Company eſteem themſelves indebted to the miniſtry on this occaſion, cannot be better expreſſed than in the words of the directors themſelves, in their addreſs to his majeſty on the peace; and therefore I

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ſhall lay them before my readers, that they may judge of the audaciouſneſs of this extraordinary writer, by comparing *his* repreſentation of the peace, and of his majeſty's meaſures on that occaſion, with the accounts of it therein given *by the directors*; by which his aſtoniſhing effrontery will inconteſtibly appear to all mankind.

We have heard the North Briton; now let us liſten to the directors of the Eaſt India Company on the ſubject of the peace.

'The re-eſtabliſhment of peace is an e-
'vent which cannot be unintereſting to
'*any* of your majeſty's ſubjects, but the
'peculiar attention your majeſty has, on
'this occaſion, been pleaſed to beſtow on
'the intereſts of that branch of national
'trade which *we* have the honour to con-
'duct, calls upon us, in a particular man-
'ner, for our juſt tribute of humble and
'grateful acknowledgment. When we
'reflect on the viciſſitudes we have expe-
'rienced *during the laſt eighteen years*, for
'ſo long has the company been engaged
'in an hoſtile competition with the
'French in India; we cannot but re-
'joice in a ſtate of *ſuperiority* and *ſecurity*,
'which the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms,

and

'and the WISDOM and FIRMNESS of your 'majeſty's COUNCILS have at length *ob-* '*tained* and *eſtabliſhed*. We feel, and ſhall 'always retain, the moſt grateful ſenſe of 'the ſupport and protection of government, 'during the war, by which the com-'pany's affairs have been recovered from a 'more deſperate to a more proſperous 'condition, than has ever been known at 'any former period.'

I would now aſk whether our commerce is not every where in a more proſperous condition than ever it was before, as well as in the Eaſt Indies? In the Weſt Indies we have an acknowledged right to the logwood-trade, which we never had before. In North America the difference is infinite. In Africa our factories are ſo enlarged, that our former intereſt there is nowiſe comparable to the figure we now make in thoſe regions.

But though truth and fact every where refute the North Briton's ravings, yet that ſhameleſs ſcribbler goes on in the following ſtrain: 'No hireling of the miniſter has 'been hardy enough to diſpute this, yet 'the miniſter himſelf has made our 'ſovereign declare the ſatisfaction which

'he felt at the approaching re-eſtabliſh-
'ment of peace, upon conditions ſo ho-
'nourable to his crown and ſo beneficial to
'his people.'

Thoſe who have abilities to compare the ſtate which our commerce was in before the war began, with the ſituation of it at preſent, may plainly diſcern that our trade is put now upon an infinitely more beneficial footing, in every reſpect, than what it was then; which ſurely brings additional advantages to the whole people, and, of conſequence, reflects a proportionable ſhare of honour on the crown; whoſe greateſt glory muſt always conſiſt in conducting warlike enterpriſes, and treaties of peace, to that great end, the intereſt of the ſubjects.

But as the preliminaries and definitive treaty have equally met with the approbation of parliament, the North Briton's invective againſt theſe meaſures is as malicious an accuſation of the parliament that *approved* of them, as of the miniſtry under whoſe management they were *concluded*; and conſequently, an unjuſtifiable attack on the honour of that moſt reſpectable aſſembly.

In

In former reigns, thoſe proceedings only were ſuppoſed odious to the nation, or liable to cenſure, which were purſued by the miniſtry without, or in contradiction to, the known ſenſe of parliament: but that auguſt aſſembly being in *fact*, as well as in *preſumption of law*, all the freeholders of England in miniature, it ſeems equally inconſiſtent with common ſenſe and juriſprudence, to imagine a difference poſſible, between the ſenſe of the nation, and the known ſentiments of parliament; where the majority is a conſtitutional majority: I mean ſuch a majority as in the political balance and judgment of diſcretion may be ſuppoſed large enough to be confided in: for ſurely the North Briton will not be ſo daring as to advance, that the judgment of parliament is not fit to be relied upon under any combination of circumſtances whatever. With ſuch as *totally* deſpiſe the authority of the Britiſh ſenate (if any ſuch there *can* be) I reaſon not; ſuch people muſt be held in ſo diminutive a light, that no man of common reaſon can ſuppoſe them worthy to be diſputed with. To all others I addreſs myſelf; and deſire to know if two-thirds of any ſociety, club, or meet-

ing, may not properly be denominated ſuch a reſpectable part of the whole, as to render all contemptuous expreſſions levelled againſt their declared opinion, an affront on *every* member of that body, and an indignity done to the *whole* ſociety? Or if a majority of *two-thirds* is not large enough to entitle that majority to aſſume the name of the *whole*, what majority *is* ſufficient for this purpoſe? Hitherto, *under* two-thirds has been eſteemed an honourable conſtitutional majority of parliament; or ſuch a majority that their approbation, or diſapprobation, may be denominated the opinion of the whole kingdom. A plurality of voices in parliament is the only means our conſtitution has afforded us (and an ample one it is) to know the ſenſe or judgment of the nation, and, conſequently, the vilipending epithets given to the meaſures of government, in the North Briton, No. 45, is a groſs inſult on the king, his privy council, every branch of the legiſlature, and all the freeholders of England, the conſtituents of the houſe of commons. The North Briton, however, goes on: 'As 'to the entire approbation of parliament, 'which is ſo vainly boaſted of, all the 'world

'world knows how that was obtained.' If the North Briton could have proved that any undue means were uſed in order to obtain this approbation of parliament, we ſhould ſurely have heard of it; but ſince he is pleaſed to declare that this approbation was obtained by thoſe means that were *known to all the world*, we ſhall take his word for it, and ſuppoſe that no other means can be aſſigned by the moſt inveterate malice but ſuch as all the world *might* know, and, conſequently, would approve. 'The large debt on the civil liſt (ſays 'he) already above half a year in arrear, 'ſhews, pretty clearly, the tranſactions 'of the winter.' Such obſcure hints denote malevolence and untruth, but not that open patriotic boldneſs falſely arrogated by this author. If any thing during the laſt winter has been done amiſs, why not diſcover it? why make the people uneaſy about they know not what? Such conduct is no proof of either love for his country, or of a regard for truth! As ſuch unmeaning cenſures leave no room for a more particular criticiſm, I ſhall proceed. 'It is (affirms 'the North Briton) remarkable that he '[the miniſter] dwells upon the *entire approbation*

'*probation* given by parliament to the *pre-*
'*liminary articles*, which I will venture to
'ſay, he muſt by this time be aſhamed
'of.' Aſhamed of what? The entire ap-
probation of parliament? This ſentence
either has no meaning at all, or impudent-
ly and infamouſly ſignifies, that the par-
liament's entire approbation of the preli-
minaries is a diſgrace to the miniſter, and
what he is now aſhamed of. Is there an
advocate for the North Briton but what
muſt bluſh at this audacious ſentence? or
is there one perſon who will ſtand forth
and vindicate ſuch an arrogant aſſertion;
or juſtify ſuch a daring inſult on the legiſ-
lature? But to go on; 'He has been
'brought (continues the North Briton)
'to confeſs the total want of that know-
'ledge, accuracy, and preciſion, by which
'immenſe advantages both of trade and
'territory were ſacrificed to our inveterate
'enemies.' As the writer does not think
it convenient for his purpoſe to acquaint us
to whom, or on what occaſion the miniſter
made this confeſſion, and brings no evidence
of it but his own *ipſe dixit*, no wiſe man will
believe, on *his* authority, that ever the
miniſter made any ſuch acknowledgment,
eſpecially

eſpecially as we can diſcover no cauſe for it in this negotiation.

The North Briton, however, proceeds in his charge: 'Theſe groſs blunders are, 'indeed, in ſome meaſure, ſet right by 'the definitive treaty, yet the moſt im- 'portant articles relative to ceſſions, com- 'merce, and the fiſhery, remain as they 'were, with reſpect to the French.'

All perſons, in the leaſt converſant in politics, know, that *preliminary articles* are always drawn up in a vague and general manner; nor is that exactneſs of ſtile, or accuracy of expreſſion, requiſite in them, which is indiſpenſibly neceſſary in definitive treaties; becauſe preliminary articles are in no wiſe obligatory upon the parties till the negotiation is ended by a definitive treaty, duly ratified. 'Till then each party may explain, retract, or offer new articles at pleaſure. The only uſe of preliminaries is, to ſhew that the parties are ſo far agreed on general principles, that there is reaſon to hope for a peace from a continuation of amicable conferences: but the *definitive treaty* produces a LASTING obligation, and TERMINATES the negotiation. So if there were any blunders, as this

this writer pretends, in the preliminaries; and thoſe miſtakes have been remedied in the definitive treaty, the nation cannot be affected by what he may deem blunders in the preliminaries. And as the North Briton has been pleaſed to decline a ſpecification of theſe pretended groſs miſtakes, he has rendered it impoſſible to give him as particular a reply as I could wiſh. He ſays, that the articles relative to ceſſions, commerce, and the fiſhery, remain as they were in favour of the French; but in this aſſertion, the North Briton has greatly deviated from the truth. The *definitive treaty* aſcertains in a manner more favourable *to us*, a deſcriptive account of our ſettlements in Africa; conveys to us *by name* three valuable factories, of which no expreſs mention is made in the *preliminaries*; puts our affairs in the Eaſt Indies on a more advantageous footing, and contains a more ſpecial recapitulation of our coaſts in and about the bay of St. Laurence, in ſuch *preciſe terms*, as to cut off for ever from the French all poſſibility of claiming territory there. It is, therefore, far from being true, that the articles relative to ceſſions remain in the *definitive treaty* as they

they were in the *preliminaries*. And with reſpect to the Spaniard, the renunciation of the fiſhery made by him in the *definitive treaty*, is conceived in MUCH STRONGER TERMS than in the *preliminaries*; for in the preliminaries it is ſaid that his Catholic Majeſty deſiſts from his claim to the fiſhery; but the definitive treaty bears, that that monarch deſiſts from this claim, *as well for* HIMSELF *as his* SUCCESSORS; which is a full and ample obligation to *drop* that demand, and *never* renew it. But I ſhall give the North Briton's remark on this article in his own words, that his duplicity may be the more apparent. 'The proud 'and feeble Spaniard, (ſays this malevo-'lent author) does not RENOUNCE, but 'only DESISTS from all pretenſions which 'he may have formed to the right of 'fiſhing----Where? only about *the iſland* 'of Newfoundland, 'till a favourable op-'portunity ariſe of inſiſting on it there as 'well as elſewhere.'

This is equivocating criticiſm with a vengeance! As there was no diſpute between Spain and us concerning fiſhing, except that of cod upon the banks of Newfoundland, it is manifeſt by the king of Spain's promiſing for himſelf and his ſucceſſors

ceſſors to *deſiſt* from that claim, that we are ſufficiently guarded againſt this pretenſion; ſince engaging *never* to claim, is in every reſpect equivalent to *renouncing*. It is probable that the word DESIST has been uſed as conveying an idea of refraining from a proſecution of pretenſions which ſtill appeared to that monarch to be juſt, but were departed from for the ſake of the public peace: ſo that his Catholic Majeſty ſeemed willing to acknowledge our power to make him deſiſt from his pretenſions, tho' not to own, *contrary to his opinion*, the juſtice of our demands. However, ſince it was the ſole right of fiſhing, excluſive of the Spaniards, upon the Banks, and about the Iſland of Newfoundland, and not their monarch's ſelf-abaſement which we deſired, it is manifeſt that by this article we have obtained all on that head that could be in any way beneficial to us, viz. an obligation on the part of that power, for *himſelf* and his *ſucceſſors*, to deſiſt from this pretenſion, which ſecures to us that branch of commerce as ſtrongly as words can convey it. The important advantage of debarring the Spaniards from fiſhing, not upon their own coaſts, but where we

conteſted

conteſted their right, is *thereby* fully obtained.

Now we return to the North Briton. 'The miniſter, (he goes on) cannot forbear even in the king's ſpeech inſulting us with the dull repetition of the word *oeconomy*. I did not expect ſo ſoon to have ſeen the word again, after it had been ſo lately exploded; and more than once by a moſt numerous audience hiſſed off the ſtage of our Engliſh theatres. It is held in deriſion by the voice of the people, and every tongue loudly proclaims the univerſal contempt in which theſe empty profeſſions are held by this nation.' Does the North Briton imagine we are reduced to ſo low an ebb that we are to gather the ſenſe and meaning of the *nation* from the hiſſes and applauſes of our *theatres?* I am far from deſigning to treat thoſe audiences with diſreſpect; but it is notorious that perſons of *very mean underſtandings* often mix in thoſe aſſemblies, and by their overuling *bawlings*, aſſume a greater importance than is their right. Such perſons, however, muſt be humoured for the peace of the houſe. And hence it is that the good ſenſe of the wiſer part

of the ſpectators obliges them to ſubmit to *foibles* which they deſpiſe, and conſequently to avoid interpoſing in *uproars* of that nature; their ſilence, therefore, is no proof of their aſſent to the opinion of the reſt. The young and unthinking, not the beſt and wiſeſt of the audience, are the hiſſers and applauders. From them we may learn the goodneſs of a joke, and now and then the poignancy of a witty expreſſion; but it is abſurd in the higheſt degree, to talk of ſubmitting matters of ſtate to *their* judgment, or to ſuppoſe that from *them* we can learn the true ſenſe or univerſal voice of the *nation*. Into what an abject ſituation muſt the authority of the government be fallen, if the proceedings of parliament, or the expreſſions of royalty, are to be ſubmitted to the canvaſs, rejection, or approbation of ſuch *ſages* as abovementioned? What a Solomon is this North Briton to ſummons *ſuch* a jury to ſit upon his prince, and exalt *their* wiſdom above that of the legiſlature! According to this wiſe author, we muſt not pretend to learn from the votes of the peers or commons the ſenſe of this free people. No, we muſt abide by the deciſions

ſions of Drury-Lane or Covent-Garden, and accept of their applauſes as the ſupreme teſt of wiſdom and juſtice! Farewel king and parliament, farewel religion and law! Common ſenſe and juſtice be gone! We have now got an infallible living law, an uncontroulable judicature, whoſe deciſions are far ſuperior in points of authority! The pit and galleries of Covent-Garden and Drury-Lane. To them we muſt henceforth appeal for redreſs of grievances, and inſtruction in matters of ſtate. The *public*, like the *actors*, muſt attend to their deciſions with profound ſubmiſſion, becauſe *we are free* to make the beſt uſe we can of our own judgment.---But to return.

'Let the public be informed of one in-'ſtance of oeconomy except in the houſe-'hold?' How the North Briton came to aſk this queſtion I cannot conceive, when he well knows that the effects of the new oeconomy is apparent in every department of the ſtate, and that in the treaſury only there is an immenſe annual ſaving, by the regulations made by that board, ſince the earl of Bute firſt preſided at it. 'Is a re-'giment, (ſays the North Briton) that was

'completed,

'completed as to its complement of of-
'ficers on the Tueſday, and broke on the
'Thurſday, a proof of oeconomy?' This is what is always done. It is the perquiſite of the colonel to have all the commiſſions filled up, and always has been ſo ſince the Revolution; nor can any miniſter prevent it: An act of parliament is neceſſary to deprive the colonels of this perquiſite, eſtabliſhed to be their due by ſo long a preſcription. 'Is the pay of the Scot-
'tiſh maſter Elliot, (ſays he) to be voted
'by an Engliſh parliament, under the
'head of oeconomy? Is this, among a
'thouſand others, one of the convincing
'proofs of a firm reſolution to form go-
'vernment on a plan of ſtrict oeconomy?' The miniſter knew nothing of this affair of Mr. Elliot's till he was informed of it by the channel of the North Briton, and as ſoon as he did know it, he made intereſt for the young captain to be broke. The blameable diſpoſitions that have for ſo conſiderable a time crept into the army, cannot be remedied by a miniſter by virtue of his office. The parliament alone can ſtrike at the root of ſuch an evil; and if it be true, as is generally ſaid, that the au-

thor of the North Briton is a member of parliament, and he ſaw any wrong proceedings in the conduct of the military eſtabliſhment, it was his duty to have moved it in the houſe, in order to have obtained their interpoſition for the prevention of irregularities of the like nature for the future. This would have been acting in a becoming and conſtitutional method; but to trumpet in a periodical paper every error of government, and lay the blame where it ought not to be laid, for the ſake of ſatisfying an unjuſtifiable ſpleen, denotes the *incendiary*, but *not* the *patriot*. However, as the North Briton can particulariſe no other inſtances of bad oeconomy, and both theſe obſervations only relate to the conduct of others and not of the miniſter, it is manifeſt that lord Bute *cannot* be anſwerable for either of theſe occurrences. Both of them were the conſequences of appointments that took place in the army, long before that nobleman had any ſhare in the adminiſtration. 'Many unneceſſary 'expences (he continues) have been in-'curred only to encreaſe the power of the 'crown; that is, to create more lucrative 'jobs for the creatures of the miniſter.'

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This general poſition, unſupported by any particular inſtance of miſmanagement, muſt go for nothing with every man of ſenſe. But if it was really true, (though nothing can be more falſe) the North Briton, as a Britiſh ſenator, was guilty of a perfidious breach of truſt to his conſtituents and the whole nation, for not having *diſcloſed* theſe criminal practices in that auguſt aſſembly, of which he was ſo unworthy a member, in order to their being *duly* animadverted on, inſtead of trumpetting them forth in a paltry periodical eſſay. 'The ſtaff indeed '(ſays he) is broke, but the diſcerning 'part of mankind immediately compre-'hended the mean ſubterfuge, and reſent-'ed the indignity put upon ſo brave an 'officer as marſhal Ligonier.' Here the North Briton is guilty of proclaiming to the world a wilful falſehood. That brave officer was conſulted, and fully acquieſced in that proceeding; and his majeſty has ſince honoured him with a Britiſh peerage, in remuneration of his important ſervices. But, ſays the North Briton, 'that ſtep 'was taken to give the whole power of 'the army to the crown, that is, to the 'miniſter. Lord Ligonier is now no more

'at

'at the head of the army, but lord Bute 'in effect is; I mean that every preferment given by the crown, will ſtill be 'found to be obtained by his enormous 'influence.' The whole power of the army has been again and again ſolemnly recogniſed by parliament to be in the crown, ſo that there was now no ſtep neceſſary to be taken for that purpoſe; and if the king had thought fit (though that was not the caſe) to put the direction of the army in lord Bute, no reaſonable objection could be made to it: but, in fact, the preferments in the army, neither now are, nor ever were, at lord Bute's diſpoſal, as is very notorious. The poſts in every regiment are always filled up by, or with the conſent of the colonels; who, by rotation, or the recommendation of field officers, are preferred to regiments; and in like ſucceſſion riſe to higher commands. If the commanders of regiments ever give up their own rights, it is their own fault. The North Briton then goes on to affirm, that all the poſts in the army are 'to be beſtowed on creatures of the 'Scottiſh faction.' Is lord Granby, and divers other illuſtrious Engliſh noble-

men, now in important employs in the army, to be accounted creatures of the Scottiſh faction? 'The nation is ſtill (he 'goes on) in the ſame deplorable ſtate, 'while he governs and can make the tools 'of his power purſue the ſame odious 'meaſures, ſuch a retreat as he intends, 'can only mean that perſonal indemnity, 'which I hope guilt will never find from 'an injured nation. The negotiations of 'the late inglorious peace, and the exciſe, 'will haunt him wherever he goes, and 'the terrors of the juſt reſentment which 'he muſt be ſure to meet with from a 'brave and inſulted people, and which 'muſt finally cruſh him, will be for ever 'before his eyes.' Though the North Briton inveighs in ſuch bitter terms againſt the miniſter *only*, for the peace and for the exciſe; yet as the latter took its riſe in the committee of the houſe of commons, called the committee of ſupply, where all impoſitions on the people ought, by law, to begin; and as both theſe meaſures were approved of by the whole parliament, it is manifeſt that this commination is pointed at all concerned in making the peace, and raiſing that exciſe, and conſequently

was

was deſigned to expoſe and ultimately annul the authority of the ſovereignty itſelf.

'In vain (proceeds this daring ſcribbler) 'will ſuch a miniſter, or the foul dregs of 'his power, the tools of CORRUPTION 'and DESPOTISM, preach up, in the 'ſpeech, the ſpirit of concord and that 'obedience to the laws which is eſſential 'to good order.' Here the miniſter, ſuppoſed to compoſe or adviſe the ſpeech, is ſtigmatized as the diſpenſer, abettor, and patronizer, and the privy council that approved of it, are called the tools of CORRUPTION and DESPOTISM. If they deſerve that name, the adminiſtration muſt be arbitrary and deſpotic, muſt act entirely repugnant to the conſtitution of our country, and, of conſequence, it is *lawful*, nay the *duty* of every good ſubject, in this *free* realm, to reſiſt and rebel againſt it. Is not this preaching up rebellion, and perſuading the nation to enter into treaſonable combinations againſt the ſtate? He diſputes not, indeed, the title of his king, but he ſeditiouſly avers, that the adminiſtration, which his ſovereign has legally and conſtitutionally appointed, is arbitrary and deſpotic. If this be not ſetting up the

ſtandard of rebellion, we ſhould be glad to know how treaſon can be committed in *words* or *writing?* I ſhall not here endeavour to prove (and which might eaſily be done) that this is alſo an audacious calumny on all the perſons concerned in the adminiſtration, and that every one of them might ſue him for *ſcandalum magnatum*, becauſe this attempt on the fountain of peerage is ſo groſly malevolent, that meaner conſiderations muſt give way to diſcuſſions on that more important point. I ſhall, therefore, go on to conſider this eſſay as it relates to the authority of the ſovereign, without obſerving the injury thereby done by the author to his fellow ſubjects concerned in the adminiſtration. 'They have ſent (ſays 'he) the ſpirit of diſcord through the land; 'and I will propheſy that it will never be 'extinguiſhed, but by the extinction of 'their power.' I ſhall leave to the ſages of the law to determine how far the North Briton has here incurred the pains of *præmunire* in terms of the ſtatute of Elizabeth, againſt fooliſh and phantaſtical propheſying, and not repealed. That the ſpirit of diſcord has been ſent through the

land, as the North Briton avers, by the peace and the exciſe act, is *unhappily* (becauſe there were no *juſt* grounds for it) very apparent; it is alſo evident, that in this ſentence, the final end of THEIR power is foretold, who (by approving meaſures which every reaſonable man muſt applaud) have unfortunately ſent that ſpirit through the land; and, of conſequence, the end of our great conſtitutional ſupport is the matter ſeditiouſly propheſied by the North Briton. And this is ſtill more manifeſt by what follows, 'for (ſays this ingenious 'author) is the ſpirit of concord to go 'hand in hand with the peace and exciſe 'through this nation? Is it to be ex-'pected between an inſolent exciſeman 'and a peer, gentleman, freeholder, or 'farmer, whoſe private houſes are now 'made liable to be entered and ſearched at 'pleaſure? Glouceſterſhire, Herefordſhire, 'and in general, all the cyder countries are 'not ſurely the ſeveral counties which 'are alluded to in the ſpeech. The ſpirit 'of concord has not gone forth among 'them; but the ſpirit of liberty has, and 'a noble oppoſition has been given to the 'wicked inſtruments of oppreſſions. A

'nation

'nation as ſenſible as the Engliſh is, will 'ſee that a ſpirit of concord when they 'are oppreſſed, means a tame ſubmiſſion 'to injury; and that a ſpirit of liberty 'ought then to ariſe, and I am ſure ever 'will in proportion to the weight of the 'grievance they feel. Every legal attempt 'of a contrary tendency to the ſpirit of 'concord will be deemed a juſtifiable re-'ſiſtance, warranted by the ſpirit of the 'Engliſh conſtitution.' Is it not clear from this paſſage, that the power that he ſays we ought to RESIST, is the power that has laid on the late exciſe on cyder? It is *they* he means who oppreſs; and it is *their* power that he aſſerts ought to be RESISTED, and it is *their* dominion whoſe end is here traitorouſly propheſied: that is, the power and authority, of KING and PARLIAMENT, exerting their conſtitutional right of making peace and of levying taxes. If this is not openly inciting the ſubjects to *reſiſt* the power and *rebel* againſt the authority of *king* and *parliament*, I do not underſtand Engliſh. In my opinion, the perſon who can have the aſſurance to ſay (but I believe no one will have the audacity to attempt it) that ſuch endeavours

ſhould not, in every well regulated govern-ment, be conſidered as treaſon, and that the author and promulger of ſuch danger-ous tenets is not richly deſerving the puniſhment of a traitor, I ſay the man who can have the confidence to aſſert this, may, with equal propriety, affirm, that anarchy is order, and rebellion loyalty.

'A deſpotic miniſter (he continues) will 'always endeavour to dazzle his prince 'with high flown ideas of the prerogative 'and honour of the crown, which the 'miniſter will make a parade of firmly 'maintaining. I wiſh, as much as any 'man in the kingdom, to ſee the honour 'of the crown maintained in a manner 'truly becoming royalty. I lament to ſee 'it ſunk even to proſtitution.' By the former part of his paper it is apparent, that the North Briton means, that the ſpeech in queſtion, from the throne, has ſunk the honour of the crown even to proſtitution. But why. or how, doth this happen? The ſpeech preaches up obedience to meaſures approved by parliament: if it reflects ſo great a diſhonour to the crown to recom-mend the meaſures which have been ap-proved of in parliament, what ſort of a

parliament

parliament muſt this incendiary inſinuate we have? Let any man ſeriouſly ponder what is here repreſented, and I dare pronounce that he will immediately obſerve, that the true deſign of this performance is wickedly to repreſent king, parliament, and miniſter in a light equally odious to the nation; and to ſtir up the people to throw off all manner of reſpect for the moſt amiable ſovereign, the moſt patriot parliament, England ever experienced, and the beſt conſtitution any nation ever knew. Is not treaſon, reſiſtance to, or an attempt to overthrow, the ſupreme power of the country to which we owe our allegiance? Sure then, *this* is treaſon, in the utmoſt ſenſe of the word!

'What a ſhame (ſays he) was it to ſee 'the ſecurity of this country, in point of 'military force, complimented away con-'trary to the opinion of royalty itſelf, and 'ſacrificed to the prejudices and to the ig-'norance of a ſet of people, the moſt 'unfit from every conſideration to be con-'ſulted on a matter relative to the ſecu-'rity of the houſe of Hanover?' Tho' we ſee no occaſion for this reflective queſtion, and could eaſily detect its fallacy, yet as it

it is confined only to an imputation on the *ſagacity* of the miniſtry, we ſhall go on to more material points.

'I wiſh (ſays the North Briton) to ſee 'the honour of the crown religiouſly 'aſſerted with regard to our allies, and 'the dignity of it ſcrupulouſly maintained 'with regard to foreign princes. Is it 'poſſible ſuch an indignity can have hap-'pened, ſuch a ſacrifice of the honour of 'the crown of England, as that a miniſter 'ſhould already have kiſſed his majeſty's 'hand on being appointed to the moſt in-'ſolent and ungrateful court in the world, 'without a previous aſſurance of that re-'ciprocal nomination, which the meaneſt 'court in Europe would inſiſt on, before 'ſhe proceeded to an act otherwiſe ſo 'derogatory to her honour? But electoral 'policy has ever been obſequious to the 'court of Vienna, and forgets the inſo-'lence with which count Colloredo left 'England. Upon a principle of dignity 'and oeconomy, lord Stormont, a Scottiſh 'peer of the loyal houſe of Murray, kiſſed 'his majeſty's hand, I think on Wedneſday 'in the Eaſter week; but this ignomi-'nious act has not, yet, diſgraced the

'nation in the London Gazette. The mi-
'niſtry are not aſhamed of doing the thing
'in private; they are only afraid of the
'publication.' Here is a round aſſer-
tion, that the court of England named a
miniſter to that of Vienna, without any aſ-
ſurance that the Imperial court would make
a reciprocal nomination to ours: how true
it is, I ſhall leave my readers to determine,
when I have informed them, that by an
article in the Vienna Gazette of the 20th
of April, it appears that their Imperial ma-
jeſties had, SOME TIME AGO named count
Sellern to reſide at our court; and even
made a *public* declaration of this nomina-
tion *before* lord Stormont kiſſed his ma-
jeſty's hand on being appointed ambaſſador
to Vienna. Doth not this manifeſtly ſhew
that the North Briton has no regard to ve-
racity? for it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that ſo
deep a politician doth not read the foreign
news-papers. As to what the North Bri-
ton ſays in reſpect to lord Stormont, it
ariſes from nothing but the rankeſt malice
and revenge: a near relation of lord Stor-
mont's, who is moſt deſervedly at the head
of the law, as well on account of his great
abilities as inflexible integrity, ſome time
ſince

ſince *obliged* the *ſuppoſed* author of the North Briton to an act of juſtice in favour of an injured wife; and in return the enraged ſcribbler takes this and every opportunity, to rail againſt every individual of that noble family. Now having detected the North Briton in one falſhood more, we ſhall go on with the reſt of his piece:

'Was it a tender regard for the honour of 'the late king, or of his preſent majeſty, 'that invited to court lord George Sack-'ville in theſe firſt days of peace, to ſhare 'in the general ſatisfaction, which all good 'courtiers received in the indignity offered 'to lord Ligonier, and on the advancement 'of -------. Was this to ſhew princely 'gratitude to the eminent ſervices of the 'accompliſhed general of the houſe of 'Brunſwick, who had ſo great a ſhare in 'reſcuing Europe from the yoke of France, 'and whoſe nephew we hope ſoon to ſee 'made happy in the poſſeſſion of the moſt 'amiable princeſs in the world? or is it 'meant to aſſert the honour of the crown 'only againſt the united wiſhes of a loyal 'and affectionate people, founded in happy 'experience of the talents, ability, inte-'grity and virtue of thoſe who have had

'the glory of redeeming their country 'from bondage and ruin, in order to 'ſupport by every art of *corruption* and 'intimidation a weak, disjointed ſet of '——, I will call them any thing but 'miniſters ——, by whom the favourite 'ſtill meditates to rule this kingdom with 'a rod of iron.'

Before we more minutely conſider this paragraph, we beg leave to make a previous remark, that the North Briton has here, contrary to a ſolemn declaration formerly made (in No. 20.) left two blanks; the reaſons of which we ſhall ſhew our readers, that they may from thence obſerve how ſedulous this writer is in inflaming the people againſt the government, as well by ſuppreſſing the truth as by inventing falſehoods. The firſt blank is left, leſt he ſhould be the inſtrument of conveying to his vulgar readers information, that the marquis of Granby, an Engliſh nobleman, of a moſt amiable and diſtinguiſhed character, is ſet at the head of the ordnance. As to the ſecond blank, it is obvious that that ſpace is intended for ſome abuſive epithet on the miniſtry, which the North Briton wanted courage to inſert. But, to return

return----As to the North Briton's repreſenting, in this paſſage, the whole executive adminiſtration as inſtruments of tyranny, &c. that charge has been already conſidered in the former parts of this Diſſection, and fully confuted. In reſpect to the recall of lord George Sackville to court, I ſhall not obſerve how diſputable the *juſtice* of the ſentence paſt againſt him is, for that is not concerned in the preſent queſtion. By the ſentence, that gentleman was ſuſpended from his command *for a year only*; ſo might have been employed at the end of that ſpace of time, without thereby experiencing the exerciſe of mercy, that darling prerogative of royalty. The late king was indeed pleaſed to diſmiſs him entirely. But no reſtraint was by that meaſure impoſed on his majeſty, or his ſucceſſor, never to employ that officer again. Though his late majeſty was pleaſed to take that, perhaps too *rigorous ſtep*, yet he or his ſucceſſor might ſurely change his mind in that reſpect, without being reſponſible to the North Briton for ſo doing: wherever a royal reſolution is founded *on the will of the king* ONLY, we cannot be ſo abſurd as

to

to think a prince ſhould be debarred a privilege which the loweſt of his ſubjects is juſtly entitled to, viz. a faculty to alter, at pleaſure, any reſolution they may have made whatever. Our late moſt glorious ſovereign, moſt undoubtedly might have changed his mind without giving a juſt cauſe of offence; nor can we be ſo weak as to argue, that his ſucceſſor may not lawfully, and with the moſt equitable propriety, re-employ a diſplaced ſervant. Neither prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, nor any other prince, or perſon whatever, has a right to preſcribe to the king in theſe matters; ſo cannot be ſuppoſed to be offended at the favours diſpenſed by our ſovereign to his own ſubjects, unleſs indeed, we can imagine an almoſt impoſſibility, namely, that that general, or any other man, can be half ſo preſumptuous as the daring author of the North Briton.

The North Briton goes on; 'The Stuart 'line has ever been intoxicated with the 'ſlaviſh doctrine of the abſolute independent unlimited power of the crown; 'ſome of that line were ſo weakly adviſed 'as to endeavour to reduce them into 'practice. But the Engliſh nation was

'too

'too ſpirited to ſuffer the leaſt encroach-
'ment on the antient liberties of this king-
'dom. The king of England is only the firſt
'magiſtrate of this country, but is inveſt-
'ed with the whole executive power; he
'is however reſponſible to his people for
'the due execution of the royal function,
'in the choice of miniſters, &c. equally
'with the meaneſt of his ſubjects, in his
'particular duty. The perſonal character
'of our preſent amiable ſovereign, makes
'us eaſy and happy that ſo great a power
'is lodged in ſuch hands, but the favou-
'rite has given too juſt cauſe for him to
'eſcape the general odium. The prero-
'gative of the crown, is to exert the con-
'ſtitutional powers entruſted to it, in a
'way, not of blind favour and partiality,
'but wiſdom and judgment; this is the
'ſpirit of our conſtitution. The people
'too have their prerogative, and I hope
'the fine words of Dryden will be en-
'graven on our hearts;

'*Freedom is the Engliſh ſubjects preroga-*
'*tive.*'

By

By a due conſideration of this concluding paragraph, we come at the true undoubted meaning of this ſeditious paper. It has hitherto been held an inviolable maxim in our law, *that the king can do no wrong*; the miniſters in whoſe department each royal act is exerciſed being anſwerable for *all* the meaſures of the crown. This maxim is compatible with the greateſt wiſdom, and agreeable to the higheſt juſtice; for as no public meaſure is taken by the king, but by and with the *advice* and *conſent* of theſe miniſters, it is truly equitable that they, and they only, ſhould be anſwerable for proceedings, which would not have been adopted but by and with their conſent. The North Briton has throughout his whole paper enveighed againſt the miniſtry, and repreſented them and their adminiſtration, as *arbitrary*, *tyrannical*, *corrupt*, *weak*, and utterly *diſregardful* of the honour of the nation, and then ſums up the whole, by traiterouſly affirming, that the king is reſponſible to his people for the due execution of his royal function IN THE CHOICE OF MINISTERS, &c. I believe I ſhall not torture the ſenſe of this paſſage to a diffe-

rent meaning from what the author intended it, (for it is too obvious to be miſunderſtood) when I declare that the true conſtruction of this new and rebellious doctrine, can be no other than this, *if the king makes a wrong choice of miniſters, he muſt be reſponſible for their faults*; and conſequently the whole of the North Briton's calumnious epithets againſt the adminiſtration, are altogether wickedly levelled at his ſovereign. The alledged oppreſſions and deceits of the miniſtry, according to his rebellious reckoning, thus become the crimes of the prince. I have already ſhewed how daringly the North Briton has endeavoured to wound the legiſlative body through the ſides of the miniſtry; this alone would have been ſufficiently deſerving an exemplary puniſhment.

The light in which he repreſents the king, a prince replete with every royal virtue, ought, however, to carry with it conſequences of an infinitely more fatal nature. The new doctrine he has broached, by which he transfers on the king all the ſuppoſed crimes of the miniſtry, is of the moſt dangerous tendency. 'The king,' ſays this incendiary, 'is reſponſible to his

people FOR HIS CHOICE OF HIS MINISTERS.' This is the very language of the regicides in the reign of Charles the Firſt. Upon this principle thoſe traitors proceeded, when they erected their mock-court to try their prince. If a king of England is reſponſible to his people for the exertions of ſuch royal powers as the conſtitution veſts him with, *in the choice of his miniſters*, as the North Briton affirms, (but to which every loyal ſubject will give the negative) I would aſk this writer, by whom and where the ſovereign is to be brought to the bar to anſwer. Not by or in the parliament: There he is the head, and can diſſolve that aſſembly at his will; much leſs in the ordinary courts of law; for it is manifeſt they cannot call to account the perſon from whom their juriſdiction is derived. Where then muſt the prince anſwer his people? The conſtitution, it is plain, (and that too from very wiſe and very urgent reaſons) is not furniſhed with any court where this is to be done. I hope this ſeditious writer did not mean to recommend to our great and mighty lords, the mobility, the erecting another occaſional high parricidal court,

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on the plan of Oliver's, for this very purpoſe; and at the ſame time propoſe the *preſidency* for *himſelf*. I hope, I ſay, this Bradſhaw of a North Briton did not mean any thing ſo utterly traitorous and rebellious; and yet I fear this his treaſonable purpoſe is but too inconteſtibly obvious.

Thus we have traced this inflammatory author through every paragraph of the moſt daring piece that ever was publicly printed, in this or any other well-governed ſtate in the world, and have ſufficiently ſhewn that his principles and doctrines tend to the diſſolution of our happy conſtitution, and are an abſolutely overt attempt upon royalty itſelf, naturally and intentionally paving the way for a general inſurrection, in order to accompliſh the moſt deſtructive and diabolical ends. To point out the means of puniſhment for this worſt of attacks upon the beſt king and the beſt government in Europe, did not come within my view in this publication. All I propoſed by it was to open the eyes of too many deluded people, by convincing them, with juſt and candid reaſoning, that if recording untruths for facts, to the prejudice of his prince, is a breach of his allegiance,

legiance, and if a public call to the ſubjects to rebel, comes under the denomination of treaſon, the author of the North Briton, No. 45, is undoubtedly a moſt finiſhed and ſeditious liar, and a moſt abandoned traitor. Here the pen of the critic ends his remarks, which muſt hereafter give place to the louder voice of avenging JUSTICE.

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